

SURVIVORS' DIARIES AS INTERNAL MECHANISMS REFLECTING THE REACTIONS AND THE SELF-PERCEPTION OF GENOCIDE VICTIMS

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ABSTRACT

The Armenian community of Smyrna played an essential role in creating national values. In September 1922, the peaceful and unarmed Armenian and Greek populations of Smyrna were annihilated and their districts destroyed by arson.

The article presents a psychological analysis of Garabed Hatcherian's and Mikayel Bartikian's diaries, considering keeping a diary a distinct mechanism of human self-regulation in a traumatic reality. Keeping a diary perhaps best meets the inner demands of a person, reflecting reality in specific and complete images. A diary is a memory: the author records events, leaving them in history as they have been perceived at that moment. Journaling as a method of psychological self-help goes beyond the medical model of psychotherapy. The diary turns into a depository of personal and spiritual development, a reflective surface, and its specificity, along with focus, becomes visible first of all to the writer. In this sense, diaries not only help them to live in the present but also illustrate the trajectory of the mental experiences of a person living through an existential vacuum.

AN INDIVIDUAL'S STORY AS PRIMARY MATERIAL

The story of an individual is the reality of an entire historical period. The article is driven by the shared experiences of Doctor Garabed Hatcherian and literary public figure, editor Mikayel Bartikian, both survivors of the Smyrna catastrophe. They belonged to the elite class and meticulously documented their observations, thus providing invaluable firsthand accounts of the tragic events they witnessed.

Taking into account the sensitivity of the topic with the example of two survivors, the article applies the methodology of interdisciplinary connections, which helps to accurately show everything that the survivors went through, by passing on their observations.

The article is based on the existential psychological analysis of Hatcherian's and Bartikian's diary materials, where keeping a diary is viewed as a unique mechanism of self-regulation and self-help for people experiencing trauma. Keeping a diary perhaps best meets the inner needs of a person, reflecting reality in specific and comprehensive images. A diary allows the author to write down the events of the moment, at the same time turning them into a story. Journaling as a method of psychological self-help goes beyond the medical model of psychotherapy, becoming a depository of personal and spiritual development, a reflective surface, and its specificity and focus become visible first to the writer. In this sense, journaling not only helps both Hatcherian and Bartikian live in the present time but also shows the flow of inner feelings characteristic of people who emerge in an existential vacuum.

The article explores the understanding of the fetishization of material subjects, which is a frequent phenomenon observed among witness-survivors of genocides, ethnic cleansing, and massacres.

IN TUNE WITH THE NEW REALITY?

In contemporary models of medical psychotherapy, an individual is often depicted as an isolated, autonomous self with unique psychodynamics, personality traits, and behavior patterns. According to this approach, individuals often find themselves in an existential vacuum, when verbal means of self-regulation become more important, acting as an internal psychological mechanism of protection against the traumatic influence of reality. The person creates images with the help of language, makes them tangible, or transforms the sensory experience into independent cognition by seeing the logical structure of their development and cause-and-effect connections.

The most difficult phase is the transition (from one stage to the other) between the stages of life – when one phase is over and the new one is so uncertain that it may seem too burdensome and even fatal. In such phases, it is crucial to have a method that allows them to stay aligned with the new life by adhering to the rhythm and resonance of the inner movements of their soul. A diary is the best option to meet the inner requirements of a person, by reflecting reality with specific and complete images. The diary helps the writer to cope with their condition by putting down things that could be distorted, while it serves as a primary source of information for researchers.

There are no genre rules or limitations for diary writing. Author's notes can be regular or random, reproducing the sequence of events (chronicle), the flow of feelings or thoughts (stream of consciousness). Despite being perceived as a monologue, the diary is a unique form of self-communication or dialogue.¹

It is difficult for a person to be impartial. How can it be achieved, since not everyone manages to immerse themselves in ideas and concepts because it requires not only knowledge and skill but also the courage to reflect on one's own life? It is neither an absolute experience nor an experiential attitude towards the subject under study.²

American social worker and psychotherapist Ira Progoff (1921-1998), a student of Carl Jung, was the first to point out that diaries can be interesting not only for readers (if we consider the diaries of famous people), but also useful for the mental harmony of the author.³

Working with a diary, a person gradually releases his inner mental tension. Journaling exercises serve as a support system for self-identification while strengthening sensitivity to one's own "inner processes," adapting them to the

¹ Andrey Alekseev, "Письмо, дневник, автобиография: многообразие форм и сопряжение смыслов (теоретико- методологические заметки)" [Letter, Diary, Autobiography: Variety of Forms and Connection of Meanings (Theoretical and Methodological Notes)]. *Telescope: Journal of Sociological and Marketing Research*, 4:2007, pp. 46-56.

² Natalya Kozlova, "Опыт социологического чтения 'человеческих документов,' или Размышления о значимости методологической рефлексии," [The Experience of Sociological Reading of 'Human Documents,' or Reflections on the Significance of Methodological Reflection], *Sociological Research*, 9:2000, pp. 22-32.

³ Ira Progoff, *Depth Psychology and Modern Man: A New View of the Magnitude of Human Personality, Its Dimensions & Resources*. Julian Press, New York, 1959.

dialogical dimension of life. Today, Progoff's Intensive Diary Therapy is used in group and individual sessions with people who experience life crises and transitions. A person gains a feeling of safety and acquires an ability to move freely in his inner space, exploring memories and feelings, passing through those "corners" of experience where there was no access before. Journals or diaries are often written by people who strive to achieve a certain goal, especially when there are difficulties to overcome. When working with a diary, the "present period" is placed in the center. Over time, the situation changes, enabling the person to set aside the "present period" and, accordingly, rewrite critical points. This gives a person an opportunity to rewrite his own life story.

INTERSECTIONS: PATHS ARE CHOSEN AND UNCHOSEN

By mastering the practice of journaling, a person reviews his life story, establishes a connection with the "inner movements of life" and adapts to its course. Life events are linked to our values, intentions, wishes, and more, according to the chronological order of our preferred story. We review past events, revealing a new meaning of life.

Writing a diary helps a person to achieve two goals: locating the present moment within the boundaries of past and future and, connecting with the values, meanings, and guiding principles of life. It makes a broader and multidimensional perspective available, opening up room for possibilities. Facing one's own life, the person writes about his life's ups and downs, laying foundations for identity and continued existence. A diary is a tool for harmonizing one's life and finding its unique tinge. This tool is "honed" for those using it – it lies in revealing one's inner truth and following it. A diary can become a companion, a portable "alter ego."

Non-linearity is the most important feature in the structured diary model developed by Progoff. It includes four dimensions.

1. *The Time of Life*, including the following structural elements: "Present period," "Daily record," "Lifestory events," "Midpoints," "Intersections: paths are chosen and unchosen," and "Being open to the future."
2. *Dialogues*, including the following sections: "Dialogue with people," "Dialogue with projects," "Dialogue with the body," and "Dialogue with events, situations, and circumstances."
3. *Flow of Symbols*, including the following sections: "Dream recording," "Dream elaboration," "Twilight images," and "Image elaboration."
4. *Impersonal meanings*, including the following sections: "Dialogue with society" and "Dialogue with inner wisdom".⁴

Lydia Ginzburg, noting the differences in the aesthetic meanings of documents, distinguishes a diary from a memoir. In her opinion, letters and diary entries, unlike memoirs, autobiographies, and confessions, are commonly not intended for or addressed to readers.⁵

⁴ Daria Kutuzova, "Терапевтическое ведение дневника по методу Айры Прогоффа" [Therapeutic Journaling using Ira Progoff's Method], <http://hpsy.ru/public/x3633.htm/>, accessed 28.04.202.

⁵ Lydia Ginzburg, "О психологической прозе" [On psychological prose], <http://19v-euro-lit.niv.ru/19v-euro-lit/ginzburg-o-psihologicheskoy-proze/index.htm/>, accessed 03.02.2023.

Memoirs and diaries differ in structural features: in contrast to memoirs that are characterized by retrospection, diaries record the events first-hand and are oriented towards the present. Diary is perhaps the “most author-prone” genre.

According to Oleg Yegorov, everything is hidden in diaries; all that characterises the writer’s personality is aggregated.⁶ Thus, we are in contact with the author directly, without mediators. Diaries do not reflect and outline the image of a person, rather they are a part of the person’s soul, actions, and character. The diary is a regular journaling of events in a fairly strict order and usually with an accurate indication of the time and place of the action.

In a diary, the chronotype is real and not idealized as in an epic or drama. The developments of the day are unpredictable and not determined by fabricated cause-and-effect relationships but by the spontaneous flow of life. The explicit signs of this genre are fundamental fragmentation and first-person narrative. The author believes that struggle is necessary, however not with wars and revolutions, but against the inner evil. Global cultural changes come to prove that the problem of evil is universal.

THE STRUGGLE IS NECESSARY: GARABED HATCHERIAN AND MIKAYEL BARTIKIAN

This article is based on content analysis of the diaries of two survivors, Hatcherian and Bartikian.

Garabed Hatcherian (1876-1952) was born in Bartizag, a town with a mostly Armenian population. He received his primary education in Bartizag. In 1907 he married Elisa Gostanian. They had three sons and two daughters. In 1914, along with 1, 500 young men from Bardizag, doctor Hatcherian was conscripted into the Turkish army and served as a medical officer in World War I. After his discharge from the army in 1918, Hatcherian settled down with his family in Smyrna, close to his wife’s family and their estate in her ancestral birthplace, Akhisar. In Smyrna, Hatcherian was soon to achieve social prominence. He held the position of general surgeon and gynecologist at the Armenian National Hospital. In 1922 his career came to an end. Within a matter of days, Hatcherian lost his home and livelihood and was arrested by the Turks for the crime of being Armenian. On September 24, 1922, the Hatcherian family managed to escape to the Greek island of Mitilini, leaving behind ten members on both sides of the extended family in Akhisar. In the spring of 1923, Hatcherian moved with his wife and his children from Mitilini to Salonika, Greece, where the refugee family decided to settle down.⁷

According to its structure and content, Hatcherian’s diary⁸ can be divided into three parts: introduction, main body, and conclusion. In the introduction to Hatcherian’s diary, Sakayan writes: “What is the historical value of Hatcherian’s diary? How does it differ from the materials published so far describing centuries-old

⁶ Oleg Yegorov, *Русский литературный дневник XIX века: История и теория жанра* [Russian Literary Diary of the 19th Century. History and Theory of the Genre], Flinta-Nauka, Moscow, 2003, p. 280.

⁷ Dora Sakayan, *An Armenian Doctor in Turkey, Garabed Hatcherian: My Smyrna Ordeal of 1922*, Arod Books, Montreal, 1997, pp. ix-x.

⁸ The original text was published twice: in 1995 and 1997. The first publication of the diary and its annex in the Eastern Armenian language was in 2005, and the second one in 2011. Dora Sakayan’s version of the diary was reprinted in Armenia in 2011.

sufferings of the Armenian Christians? Initially, it is important to note that here we do not have a memoir, i.e. a text written on memories years later, but a diary - factual material recorded by an eyewitness who deeply experienced the events and happenings. Bearing in mind that Hatcherian was the contemporary and participant of the events described and the one who journaled them first-hand, the diary should be considered as a primary source". (Sakayan, 23)

Mikayel Hagop Bartikian (1887-1968) was a famous publicist, editor, and literary public figure, born in Konya, Turkey. He graduated from the Jenanian College in 1907.⁹ In 1911, he established the "Shavigh" printing house in Konya, simultaneously teaching at Jenanian College (1912-14). He was the editor of the *Ikonion* magazine. In Smyrna, he published the *Atrushan* (Fire-temple) bi-monthly magazine (1919), and the *Forty-four* satirical newspaper in Athens (1924-25). In 1929, he graduated from the London School of Journalism. In 1935 he founded the "Atrushan" printing and publishing house in Athens and published the *Amrots* (Fortress) weekly (1936-37). In 1946, he was repatriated to Armenia with his wife and three sons. He worked at the Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, and afterward at the Library of the Academy of Sciences. He died in Yerevan.

The detailed description of events and people in "Bloody Izmir",¹⁰ demonstrates Bartikian's brilliant memory, literacy, and prudence. He was aware of every detail of the events in the city, which helped him to orient rightly in the time and place, and to make sober decisions.

Realizing the importance of the material, Bartikian made the final corrections and typed the manuscript diary either in Athens or in the warm and safe family environment of "sunny Yerevan," being deeply convinced that his memories would be judged critically by his readers.

⁹ Rev. Harutyun Jenanian (1858-1907) had a particular contribution in the education history of the Armenian Evangelical School. After facing serious challenges with missionaries while managing the college he had established in Tarsus, he resigned from the position and established a day school in Konya in January of 1892. In September of the next year, he established the boarding section of the school. In 1894 the school obtained its first building and in 1895 attained a college level. In 1899, theologian, pedagogue, scientist, linguist and musician Rev. Armenak Haykazian accepted Jenanian's invitation to undertake the position of the educational executive of the "Apostolic Institute of Asia Minor" (Jenanian College). From: Yervand H. Kasuni, "Prof. Armenak Y. Haykazian (1870-1921)," *Janaser* (Beirut) (March 2005): 57-61; Rev. Hambartsum Y. Ashjian, *The Genocide of Adana and Memories from Konya (for History)* (New York: Gochmag, 1950), 238-239.

¹⁰ The manuscript (85 pages) is kept in the scientific repository of the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute foundation (AGMI) (section 8, folder 376) and has the title "Bloody Izmir." It was donated to the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute by Nune Hrach Bartikyan, Mikael Bartikyan's granddaughter, on June 2, 2012.

While preparing the article, we have worked with Bartikian's manuscripts preserved in the scientific funds of the AGMI, which are important primary materials conveying the tragedy experienced by the witness-survivor. In the core of Bartikian's memoir are journal entries interwoven with rich historical material. The journal entries of the eyewitness-survivor cover the period in Smyrna in 1922 - from September 8 to, according to Bartikian, the period of being "finally free" (08.10.1922 - 19.11.1923), giving a detailed description of the days Bartikian and his family spent in Smyrna. See also Mikayel Bartikyan, *Արևաշատի Բզմիրը* [Bloody Izmir], Ohanes (Onnik) Ghazarian, *Կենսագրական նոթեր* [Biographical Notes] (Yerevan: AGMI, 2022), editor, author of the prefaces and references Tehmine Martoyan.

Bartikian narrates the development of events by clearly indicating the day and time of happenings. For example, in the following excerpt: “As I was leaving my post on the evening of Friday, September 8, 1922, contrary to my habit, I decided to go home by passing in front of the Punta fire station and going around the cliff. Any human being could barely watch the scene unfolding in front of the storehouse of the Aydın railway station without emotion.... Robbery, disorder, impunity had reached their peak. There was no shepherd, and the sheep were lost”.¹¹

While reading the diary notes, one becomes a witness and participant of the events. The writer’s keen eye recorded every detail: Bartikian had deliberately written down the details of what was seen, heard, and experienced: “On Saturday afternoon I tried to leave home and walk towards the end of Haynots.... Turkish mobs dressed in civilian clothes were passing in a row, clumsy, ugly, wearing high, dark fezes, with red cloths tied around their arms, with Mausers on their shoulders or in their hands. All of them were riding horses without saddles [...]” (Bartikian, 84-85).

Thanks to the notes, it is possible to see Bartikian’s character. The records demonstrate an Armenian characterized by bravery, courage, and a sense of responsibility: “...Thousands of people ... rushed to the side of Bunta. The horror was so great that many terrified people were dying on the road. Me and my sister, putting our arms through Mom’s arms, were walking, taken by the current when we saw that we had reached the Aya-Triphona road.... We were very tired, carrying Mom on our shoulders. There, in the corner, I seated my mother, my sister, a widow accompanying us, and her four children, and I hurried to find out whether our friend, who lived in a nearby house, was there and whether we could move in with them. We were very thirsty, especially my mother; she was about to faint.” (Bartikian, 93).

AWARENESS OF DANGER

Through Bartikian’s notes, we have the opportunity to “follow” and “restore” the relationship-forming process between victim and perpetrator. Is there a clear awareness of the danger while dealing with the perpetrator, and an internal level of protection? And is it possible to observe the process of physical and mental exhaustion in a person?

The fact that the survivor keeps notes during difficult times, proves his strong character and purposefulness. The thirst to accurately convey the images caught with one’s own eyes (with the accurate perception of time, the eyes of the witness catch what is seen, and keep them in memory with as much detail as possible) and the sounds heard become obvious by the abundance of exclamation marks, question marks and other signs used in the manuscript.

The following lines of Bartikian bring historical events to life and testify to his ability to deeply understand the presence of danger: “On Monday, September 11, I reluctantly went to my workplace, passing through neighborhoods completely inhabited by Greeks but still fearing that I might be attacked by opportunist Turkish civilians or mobs and be killed. There were few officials in the office, everyone talking about a thousand and one horrors. [...] In front of the door of the office and various parts, there were Turkish armed forces deployed as guards. Almost instinctively I

¹¹ Mikayel Bartikian, *Արևաշաղախ Իզմիրը* [Bloody Izmir], Ohanes (Onnik) Ghazarian, *Կենսագրական նոթեր* [Biographical Notes], intro., editing and annotations by Tehmine Martoyan, AGMI, Yerevan, 2022, p. 76.

walked out, as the situation was pressing on me, and I did not know where to go or where to escape from the looming danger or leave the city. However, my concern was about my sick mother, who had been in bed for more than two years, making me stay in Izmir and not leave" (Bartikian, 59).

Bartikian's individual flow – balanced, clearly understanding the seriousness of the circumstances, not underestimating the capabilities of the perpetrator, and understanding the connection of obvious changes in their actions – gives the researcher courage to "participate" in the tragedy of the individual.

At the same time, the researcher also takes on the mental state of being a silent "follower" of the happenings and experiences a certain catharsis, which keeps the researcher in mental and psychological tension for a long time.

Even details seem real to the researcher, taking them to the period of the events.

The following description is an example of true contrast: "As I made my way home from Bunta, the desolation was growing, there was a mysterious silence and an ominous presence. People watching the street from the holes of the windows of their houses in Hadji Atam, expressed their surprise hiding behind their shutters about my courage to go out. Nevertheless, I arrived home safely, and we somehow started moving to the French district" (Bartikian, 61).

While working with the material, the researcher feels growing empathy, experiences feelings of hopelessness, inability, and uselessness. However, the realization that the accurate conveyance and impartial analysis of the documented material of an individual's story, representing an entire period, constitutes a mission, the researcher assumes the role of conveying the things seen and heard by the eyewitness-survivor to the scientific community.

In Bartikian's text, we encounter an example of the postponement of suspended grief.¹² Bartikian – the analyst – draws the researcher's attention to the transformation of the Turkish community of Smyrna into a criminal society; he silently observes and then evaluates the ongoing change, thus giving a shape to the criminal: "Turks would gradually become braver, more insolent, bolder. They planned quietly, calculated everything with perfect discipline, and with confidence in victory, they even started to delay the payment of their debts to Christians. They were confident that soon the Milli army would arrive, capture Izmir, and who would dare to demand their debts from Turks, when the roles would have been changed already and fewer Turks would become owners, and the debtors would become the lenders when the Turks were not going to pay but to take over the wealth of the Christians" (Bartikian, 62).

Against the depth of faith and conviction of Turks in regaining possession of "Güzel Izmir," the victim's feeling of "sorrow, concern, and heartbreak," as defined by Bartikian, was particularly highlighted: "In the square, the merchant activities and trade had almost stopped. There were bland remarks from official and foreign

¹² Suspended grief or intergenerational grief? It can be described as a collection of symbols pushed into the unconscious and emotional burdens or actions experienced by the ancestors, which significantly influenced the formation of their identity. We observe metamorphoses in Bartikian's diary: "I went there, saw, and touched his lifeless body. There was a bullet hole on his left chest. He was lying on his back. The residents on both sides of the scene were curiously and fearfully watching the son who had lost his father, who had to see his father disregarding the danger, to see him for the last time, as there was neither possibility nor convenience to take his body or bury him" (Bartikian, p. 92).

representatives. Pompous speeches from blind patriots, perplexed people – these were defining the situation. Everyone, leaving their work, wandered towards the coffee shops of the cliff in the hope of hearing an encouraging word, of learning reassuring news. There were random gatherings and floods of personal opinions. The people roamed the busy streets of the city not for business and work, but to know any good news [...]" (Bartikian, 69).

Bartikian's analytical skills are clearly reflected when he writes about the "necessity" of fire and destruction: "[...] This was the only way they could erase the traces of killing and robbery, plunder, and looting. The robbery took place before setting fires. From September 9 to 13, goods from the shops of Haynots, the Frankish district, Aya-Yorgi, and other neighborhoods were transported in closed vehicles, and even the captive Christians imprisoned in Gshla were made to load and unload the goods. The Turks also had another expectation from the fire. Thousands of Christians who had taken refuge in various houses and buildings would be forced to leave in the event of fire, thus facilitating the robbery, arrest, and abduction of individuals The Turks were sure that displaced, driven out-of-home Christian people would carry with them valuables. Therefore, fire was the easiest way to capture it all." (Bartikian, 98).

"DIFFICULT CONDITIONS:" DANGER OF GENOCIDE

"Difficult conditions", a concept introduced by American psychologist Ervin Staub, preceded the Genocide.¹³ There are descriptions of such conditions in Hatcherian's diary that give grounds for sensing the danger of Genocide: "Friday, 1 September 1922- The whole city is in panic; the streets have become impassable due to the refugees fleeing from Karahisar, Ushak, Alashehir, and other places. Hotels are overfilled, the military and city authorities try to calm the people down, but everyone by now understands that the retreat or, more precisely, the dissolution of the Greek army has already begun [...] We too, in our family, are alarmed and seek a way to bring our children back as soon as we can. [...] Monday, the 4th- In the streets a general confusion reigns, resulting from the arrival of Christians from the provinces. [...] Military equipment and property are scattered all over; even horses, cows, and sheep are left unattended everywhere" (Sakayan, 2-4).

In another passage reflecting "difficult conditions," Bartikian wrote: "One day in 1922, at noon, near the Bash Oturak neighborhood of Izmir, the crowded people, their eyes fixed on the sky, were watching something. [...] I had almost reached that crowd and curiously asked what was going on, why were they looking at the sky? As if to conceal it from others or to beware of hunters, someone pointed his finger up to the sky, guided my eyes to the zenith, and said: "Look, there, do you see the moon and the star?" [...] It was really interesting to see the moon and the star in the sky in daylight, as they appear on the Turkish flag - it was not an ordinary phenomenon [...] The Turkish people interpreted this phenomenon as they wished Izmir would return to its former owner." (Bartikian, 58).

It is interesting to observe that the ethnic retreat and nomadism¹⁴ follow Hatcherian like a shadow: "Saturday, the 9th -[...] I also learn that the Turkish

¹³ Ervin Staub, *Overcoming Evil: Genocide, Violent Conflict, and Terrorism*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2011.

¹⁴ *Nomadism* - wandering around without any fixed home or dwelling. Ethno-psychological retreat is self-defensive in nature. Studies of human frustration and psychological self-defense

advanced post has reached the Turkish quarters of Smyrna and, assisted by local Turks, is trying to break through the Greek lines. [...] The entire road is packed with retreating soldiers.” (Sakayan, 7).

Bartikian also describes: “On September 9, 1922, at 10:15 a.m., six Turkish horsemen, headed by officer Sherafeddin¹⁵ and led by someone in a British military uniform, arrived from Hayga-Punar¹⁶ and, passing in front of Punta station, headed towards the cliff.

The Kemalists had entered Izmir!

The streets were deserted. Everybody was terrified, hiding somewhere, not even daring to poke their heads out. The people who rushed to the railway station were even more scared, so they did not come out; for some reason, the payment of the company’s officials was terminated.

Gunshots were heard from the distant districts, especially from the Turkish neighborhoods of Eshdef Pasha, Iki Cheshmelik, Karatagh, and particularly from Basmakhane and Ay-Vuglaside. Perhaps the Turks were celebrating, while the Christian neighborhoods were in dead silence. Horror was everywhere! The city was trembling and shaking under the footsteps of Turkish horses. Fear and trembling!” (Bartikian, 83).

Hatcherian illustrates nomadism by trying to simply survive: “Monday, the 11th - [...] I go to one of the butcher shops; the butcher, looking at my military medal of honor and my gold-colored crescent, takes me for a Turkish official; addressing me as “Bey Efendi” he offers me a chair and asks me to wait a while to get better meat. Again, it is the Turk who is honored. I sit down as a Turk and I survey the square.

Wednesday, the 13th-[...] Haynots area is more widespread and more voluminous. [...] I see a Turk who approaches me saying, “We did what was due; you turn back.” The Turk, who obviously had assumed an active role in the arson, takes me obviously for his compatriot and accomplice and advises me not to advance, but to turn back. I answer, “Very well,” with the attitude of someone who understands the situation and I stop for a moment to distance myself from the Turk and to avoid conversation” (Sakayan, 12).

REGULATING PSYCHOLOGICAL TIME: “PRESENT PERIOD”

People who are transitioning to a new phase of life typically have the perception of time dilating. The concept of “time dilation” is based on the fundamental difference between chronological and qualitative times. The former is the actual sequence of events as they unfold to an external observer. Qualitative time is the subjective experience of events, their meaning, and value for the person experiencing them.

mechanisms show that in conditions of constant increasing anxiety, a person can move from one place to another in the hope of finding peace of mind. In a new place, however, anxiety can become deeper, forcing the person to move again, as the new location is considered a rescue haven.

¹⁵ Şerafettin İzmir (1889-1951), a military figure, participated in the Balkan wars. During the First World War he had been one of the active participants of the nationalist Kemalist movement. He participated in the siege of Smyrna. He was the first one to hoist the Turkish flag on the building of the governor’s residence.

¹⁶ Halkapınar— a district in Smyrna.

When writing a diary, the “present period” is placed in the loop: which event marked the boundary between the past and the present? What is the substance of the present period of life? How does it flow?

The present period is considered both from a rational and non-rational point of view. A situation is rather difficult when a person stands at a crossroads and must choose between two important spheres that are integrated into life and are very demanding.

Hatcherian expresses his growing anxiety in a rather muted way, which speaks of his high level of reflection as a Doctor and his inner ability to maintain emotional stability and self-regulation in emergencies. He depicts the “Present Period” in detail, thereby regulating his own psychological time, where he tries to turn sensory perceptions into descriptive images, thus maintaining the threshold of logic and sobriety: “Saturday, the 9th - I am enduring a terrible night. At midnight, I go out on the balcony and watch the Greek cavalry escaping in panic. From time to time, one can hear the sounds of gunshot coming from afar. I return to my bed to rest my weary body and my troubled mind. It is impossible to fall asleep. Early in the morning, I get up and prepare to go to Kokoriali to do some surgery at the house of Mrs. Depanian, who is a Doctor. [...] Breaking through the soldiers’ lines, I arrive at Mrs. Depanian’s house, but the woman to be operated on has not arrived yet. I do not wait and return immediately to the quay; there is neither steamboat nor tram.[...] I return home, and after discussing the situation with my wife, we too decide to move to the quay, and to spend a few days in the house of Berdj Sivrihissarian. For some months now, this house has been the residence of Mr. Yervant Atamian and his wife, Verkiné, who is expecting to give birth in a few days, and according to a previous arrangement, I will be performing the delivery. This gives us an excellent opportunity to move there with the whole family. [...] Sunday, the 10th - It is morning. The quay is peaceful and we are happy that the Turkish occupation has gone without bloodshed. But then, we see from the balcony people taking the body of a fifteen year old boy from the street and carrying it to the quay wall. He must have been shot for being outside at night after curfew. [...] I arrive at my house and try to open the door. I fail. Apparently, the lock has been destroyed by attempts to break in during the night. [...] In front of Miss D. Kasparian’s house, I see floods of dried blood” (Sakayan, 7-15).

Another more pressing passage from Hatcherian's diary is his reaction to his father's death: “No explanation was needed. My father was killed! Danger meant nothing to me anymore! I rushed out of the door. I had to see my father’s remains too. To see where and how he was killed, I did not care whether or not a fatal shot could hit me on that road too” (Bartikian, 92).

In such situations, there is a lot of stress experienced. Sometimes it is not about the collision of choice or orientations, but simply a change of emphasis, when the primary pursuit in a person’s life changes. As a rule, the so-called new direction of life is not completely new; it’s just that the developments of this direction have not yet been in focus. Sometimes the “new” main protagonist wants to possibly contradict the old one. We find such a description in Hatcherian’s diary, particularly when the author is a convict and spends his weary days in enemy territory: “Wednesday, the 20th - [...] During this night, I have spent the most dreadful hours of my imprisonment and perhaps of my entire life. It is impossible to describe the horror and the emotional chills we felt each time we saw a soldier approaching us. Not even for a minute did we close our eyes, and the hours felt like months. Thursday, the 21st - [...] for us, there

is no difference between steamboats or airplanes, all that matters is getting out of this hell, where we have been suffering for four long days, which seemed to last four centuries” (Sakayan, 36-37).

Bartikian wrote: “On Monday night, September 25th, I was arrested at the Liman-Karakol in front of the Passport.¹⁷ At around 9 o’clock in the evening there was the sound of a terrible explosion and a strong tremor. The guarding policeman exclaimed from inside, clenching his teeth, “Gitti Aya Fotininin kampanasina!”¹⁸ The bell tower of Aya-Fotini church was demolished. It was clear that they knew in advance that the bell tower would be destroyed that night” (Bartikian, 97).

SYMBOLIC FORMS OF IDENTITY PRESERVATION

Preservation of the wholeness of one’s own house in space and time, in particular, can be seen as a psychological combination of “I” and “we”, a unique opportunity to remain loyal to the past and, thus, mentally withstand a heavy emotional burden: “Wednesday, the 13th -[...] With the intention of inspecting our house on Chalgidji Bashi, I leave the premises. [...] From afar I observe our balcony and windows which look intact. I glance at the door and see that it also remains closed/locked and untouched. After satisfying my curiosity about our house, I enter the narrow alley across from it completely composed [...]. I am happy about the peacefulness in the Greek districts and about the fact that our house has remained intact and hope that in a few days, security will be restored in the city” (Sakayan, 13-14).

According to Progoﬀ, the flow of images and symbols is constant, but during wakefulness, it is hidden under the layer of rational thinking. An example of symbolization is the description of fire: “Wednesday, the 13th -[...] Haynots has been set on fire. [...] Proportional to the spreading of the fire, the crowd of terror-stricken human beings on the quay grows, extending an immense way up to Punta” (Sakayan, 14-15).

Bartikian insists that the order for the fire, especially for Haynots, was given by Nureddin Pasha himself: “However, it was not limited to this. The fire spread its wings and the district, which was once the glory and pride of the city, was burnt down. The Turks, however, needed a scapegoat. It was necessary to blame the crime on someone else. And who could that be but an Armenian?” (Bartikian, 99).

The “dark days” in the life of Armenians were to continue; the water and the sword were to be followed by the fire with its most cruel purpose: “ [...] Gradually, the flames approach our house. [...] During the battles in the Dardanelles and in Romania, I witnessed the burning of so many cities and villages, but none of those fires made such a strong impression on me. This fire in Smyrna is indescribable and unimaginable” (Sakayan, 14-15).

“After looting Izmir, writes Bartikian, particularly the Armenian quarter, the Turks set the fire at 9 a.m. on Wednesday, September 13. That morning, on Basmakhane Street, near the Prentan cafe, Turks exiting from the robbery of the Gasparians’ house were telling each other: “The house is empty now; we will come later and set it on fire.” The residents, who were hiding in the house, left it as soon as possible after hearing this. And indeed, the house was set on fire on that day” (Bartikian, 95-96).

¹⁷ Liman karakol - police station, armed guard, patrol. Passport- passport office.

¹⁸ Gitti Aya Fotininin kampanasina- Aya (Saint) Fotini’s bell tower is gone.

The following lines of Hatcherian, recording the despair of an individual, are noteworthy: "There is no more hope left for us, our destruction is a matter of hours" (Sakayan, 14-15).

The psychological conflation of "I" and "we" is again evident: "[...] The loud roaring and horrendous rocking resulting from the collapse of the skeletal walls carries far and we, feeling the chill of death, regard ourselves as victims of doomsday" (Sakayan, 16).

Nevertheless, the continuation of the thought proves Hatcherian's psychological maturity, which allows him to see a way out even in the most difficult situation and accept life as an absolute value: "[...] However, life is sweet, and even in these moments of despair, the will to survive does not abandon us" (Sakayan, 16).

Here is another description: "Thursday, the 14th- [...] On the foreign transport ships and warships anchored near the shore, we can distinctly see filmmaking equipment pointed at us, making movies representing our misery. Those filmmakers and their ecstatic colleagues are just spectators to our suffering. They reject those who approach them even by swimming or rowing to ask for refuge, just because they want to demonstrate their political neutrality. Civilization, humanism, and Christianity have become empty words" (Sakayan, 18).

It is difficult to understand what shakes Hatcherian's soul more - the undisguised barbarism of the Turks, or the immoral neutrality of those with "starched souls and snow-white gloves," making history not only continue but also repeat itself: "[...] Once the infernal fire has completed its destructive work, leaving the whole Christian population homeless and helpless, Europeans decide to demonstrate their humanitarianism and compassion in a very unusual way [...]" (Sakayan, 18).

DIALOGUE WITH EVENTS, SITUATIONS AND CIRCUMSTANCES

The agonizing realities of Hatcherian's life started after his arrest: Friday, the 15th - "We are arrested. [...] We are jailed as prisoners of war. A thousand times we curse the moment when we hit upon the idea to inspect our houses and walked foolishly, with our own feet, to the police station to turn ourselves in voluntarily as prisoners. But it is all over now" (Sakayan, 24).

This fragment corresponds to the typological description of Progoff's "Dialogue with Events, Situations and Circumstances" subsection. The present is so disturbing that a person, starting a dialogue with the self, tries to reconstruct it, revise it or, out of helplessness, put up with it. Facing many ordeals, Hatcherian constantly finds himself at the intersection of life and death. The sense of physical destruction is accompanied by an identity crisis: "Sunday, the 17th- [...] Before sunset, all the prisoners over forty-five are lined up in fours. [...] In fact my age is forty-six, although according to my documents, I am two years younger than that. I approach the line and sit down. An officer starts the inspection with a whip in his hand, chasing out ones under forty-five. He walks past me without any remark. [...] I had passed the test, and although under other circumstances I would not like looking older, I am now happy that my being over forty-five has been confirmed and getting out of the barracks and joining my family is all I think about. One-hour passes, and we are still on the ground, sitting in fours. Towards nightfall, we receive the order to return to our places. But where is our place?" (Sakayan, 24).

For the author, this inquiry has more than an existential sense and a meaning of identity preservation, because it is directed not only to an individual but the entire civilized world.

In prison, Hatcherian goes through the ordeal of being deprived of shoes: “Sunday, the 17th- [...] The beach is covered with terrible filth, and a few human corpses are floating atop the waves. After a few minutes, I return. The soldier at the hole proposes that I take off my shoes and exchange them with his. I object, saying that his shoes would not fit my feet. “In that case, you will go barefoot,” he replies. I show him my military picture and add, “How can a Captain go barefoot?” “Captain or colonel, it makes no difference. Take off your shoes!” he screams. At this point, I have the courage to tell him, “Let us go to your captain, and I will show you who I am.” The man gets confused and lets me go. [...] Thursday, the 21st – a soldier with a container full of water in his hand approaches me and demands that I take off my shoes. I object, saying that they would not fit him, that many soldiers inside the barracks tried them, but did not like them. “What they did not like, I like. Take off your shoes! Otherwise, you will get this container of water on your head,” he adds. I am in serious trouble. Just as I am leaving the barracks, how can I deprive myself of my shoes, which are now more important than anything, especially if they force us to make a long journey on foot? The man is waiting threateningly. Finally, I show him a hole in the sole of one shoe which I had created deliberately while I was in the barracks, telling him that these shoes will not last even one day” (Sakayan, 24).

The detailed description of such instances shows that Hatcherian identifies himself with his shoes. Here we observe an object reverence that can be of crucial importance for the regulation of a person’s identity or self-awareness during emergencies or crises. For the author, separating from the shoes would mean an irreversible loss of “I” in the dimensions of space and time.

Bartikian describes how quickly greed and gradual pettiness evolved. “From Gshla to Bunarbashi, the looters were looking for large sums of money and valuables: up until Bozkoy, they would go as low as also eyeing lesser things, while beyond Bozkoy, even a random torn-up dress and a worn shoe would be valuable for them. It was here they pulled off and took my shoes. I was left barefoot. How would I walk the rocky and thorny road? I found some pieces of cloth from here and there, wrapped them around my feet and the caravan set off for Maghnisa” (Bartikian, 137).

CONCLUSION

Escaping miraculously from captivity and an unspeakable reality that violates human nature and dignity, the survivors find themselves on the open sea, again in the hold of an existential vacuum, searching for answers to many questions, living through traumatic scenes again, that make memories a heavy burden for a person who combines the past, present and future in one.

These micro-stories of authors are intertwined with the macro-histories of the Armenian and Greek genocides, touching the reader with the frankness of their details. They show the courage needed to combine family pain with the story of the annihilation and resurrection of their nation, thus, living again and passing on their memories to other generations.

Such research takes on the importance of acknowledging and evaluating the existential experience of the survivors. For Hatcherian and Bartikian, their experiences are a traumatic reality and unwanted coercion of their life paths.

Their records are important not only historically, but also serve as an existential experience, a unique method of inner liberation for people in similar situations, guiding them to find the meaning of the experiences they go through and rethink their lives.

The article shows the helplessness of an individual in difficult times. At the same time, the mission of these documenters with advanced ethnic self-awareness to convey the story is priceless, and is due to an accurate understanding of the role of intellectuals.

The role of survivor diaries in the context of Genocide is crucial, particularly for documentation, establishing an emotional connection with the reader, preservation of memory, and, of course, as a coping mechanism. Such diaries serve as primary historical sources, offering an immediate and authentic account of the atrocities. Personal journals of individuals present the human dimension of these tragedies. They reveal the profound fear, suffering, and immense loss, but also the resilience and courage of the human spirit. Such narratives allow the reader to forge an emotional connection with the survivor. The diaries play a vital role in memory preservation, and function to educate future generations. The practice of diary-keeping serves as a therapeutic coping mechanism, offering survivors the means to externalize and systematically process the profound pain and psychological trauma they endured.

Thus, although we have no verified information that the paths of Hatcherian and Bartikian have crossed, the actual material testifies the following:

- They found themselves in similar situations.
- They experienced similar feelings.
- They had a high level of ethnic self-awareness.
- They were both Genocide survivors.
- They chose the diary method for recording happenings.

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Օրագրային մեթոդը ինքնապաշտպանական մեքանիզմ դիտարկելով, յօդուածը կը ներկայացնէ զմիտնիացի ականատես-վերապրողներ բժիշկ Կարապետ Խաչերեանի եւ գրական-հասարակական գործիչ, խմբագիր Միքայէլ Բարթիկեանի օրագրերու հոգեբանական վերլուծութիւնը: Գրառումներ կատարելը՝ որպէս հոգեբանական ինքնօգնութեան մեթոդ, դուրս գալով հոգեբուժութեան բժշկական մոտէլէն կը վերածուի անձնական եւ հոգեւոր զարգացման պահոցի: Այսպէսով, օրագրերը կ'օգնեն Խաչերեանին ու Բարթիկեանին ապրին տուեալ պահերը եւ ցոյց տան գոյաբանական դատարկութիւն ապրող անհատներու ապրումային շարժընթացը:

Օրագրային գրառումները կարելի է նաեւ իբրեւ պատմական աղբիւր, որոնք մանրամասնութիւններ կը հաղորդեն՝ ներընտանեկան ցաւը զուգորդելով ազգի բնաջնջման եւ յարութեան պատմութեան: Ուստի, յաղթահարման Խաչերեանի ու Բարթիկեան մեքանիզմը, առանցքային դեր ունեցած է թէ՛ փաստագրման, թէ՛ ընթերցողի հետ յուզական կապի հաստատման եւ յիշողութեան պահպանման: